DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 022 586 RC 002 542

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OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE AMONG SPANISH-AMERICANS IN ATASCOA COUNTY AND SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. Economic Research Service.; Texas A and M Univ., College Station. Agricultural Experiment Station.
Report No-B-1061
Pub Date Dec 66
Note-24p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.04
Descriptors-AGRICULTURAL LABORERS, *DISADVANTAGED ENVIRONMENT, ECONOMIC STATUS, EDUCATIONAL INTEREST, *EDUCATIONAL STATUS COMPARISON, EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS, FARM OCCUPATIONS, HOME VISITS, MIDDLE CLASS NORM, *OCCUPATIONAL SURVEYS, *RURAL URBAN DIFFERENCES, SALARY DIFFERENTIALS, *SPANISH AMERICANS
Identifiers-*Texas

A study conducted in a rural and an urban county in Texas sought to determine factors affecting changes in occupational patterns taking place in selected Spanish American populations from each of the 2 areas. An attempt was also made to determine levels of living, income, education, and aspirations of parents for their children's futures. The study noted a steady shift from agriculturally related occupations to service occupations and, with a much lower frequency, to professional occupations. Educational achievement, living standards, and income of the Spanish American lagged behind that of the general population, but the differential between rural and urban Spanish Americans was even more pronounced. (DA)

B-1061
December 1966

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Occupational Change Among Spanish-Americans

In Atascosa County and San Antonio, Texas

RC002542

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY
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Summary and Implications

SPANISH-AMERICANS TRADITIONALLY HAVE PLAYED an important part in the agricultural development of Texas and the Southwest by supplying a large work force. During the past decade and a half, they have comprised about one-fifth of all persons working in farm occupations in Texas, although they represented only one-tenth of the State's total labor force. Since Spanish-American farm workers are so heavily concentrated in jobs as farm laborers, with relatively few operating their own farms, their importance to the hired labor needs of the agricultural economy of Texas is even greater than the figures for total farm employment would indicate. Of all farm wage workers in Texas, more than 2 out of 5 are Spanish-Americans.

With the passage of time, there have been marked changes in the occupational structure of the Spanish-American labor force. Their number of workers has grown at a more rapid rate than the total labor force of Texas, with the increase all being in the nonfarm occupations, where a gain of about 60 percent in the number of Spanish-American nonfarm workers was recorded between 1950 and 1960. Spanish-American farm workers declined by one-fourth during this same period. Many left the migratory labor streams to become more stationary in their employment. Others, because of technological displacement or because of the attraction of better jobs and higher incomes, left agricultural employment altogether.

Despite the rapid movement toward nonfarm occupations, the relative role of Spanish-Americans in the Texas farm and nonfarm labor force did not change appreciably between 1950 and 1960 because of similar changes in the farm and nonfarm components of the total labor force. In 1960, Spanish-Americans comprised approximately the same proportion of the agricultural work force and of the non-agricultural work force of Texas as they did a decade earlier. In fact, a detailed examination of the decennial census data reveals that while Spanish-American nonfarm workers increased at a faster rate than nonfarm workers in the State, Spanish-American farm workers declined a little more slowly than all farm workers in Texas. Nevertheless, among the Spanish-Americans during the 1950s, farm work had become less common and nonfarm work more common, so that by 1960 only 15 percent of all employed Spanish-Americans were doing farm work, compared with 27 percent in 1950.

Data in this report confirm the trend indicated in the census that Spanish-Americans are leaving farm work in large numbers and that they are making rapid strides in employment in nonfarm occupations. The report further concludes that there has been some upgrading of occupational skills among the nonfarm Spanish-American workers.

Conclusions regarding occupational trends were based on examination of occupational changes at the beginning and at later stages in the work careers of

household heads, and on changes between one generation of Spanish-Americans and the next. Of interest was not only the trend away from farm work but also the nature of the nonfarm jobs the Spanish-Americans are moving toward. The report also describes such important socio-economic characteristics of Spanish-Americans as age, education, language and income, which help to explain their occupational status and to indicate possible future changes in the occupational composition of their labor force.

Household Characteristics

Households of the Spanish-Americans surveyed were larger than the average household in Texas, both because of the greater number of children and because of the tradition of friends and relatives living with the immediate family. Larger household size means that family income must be stretched thinner than the income of the non-Spanish family and that the standard of living of the Spanish-Americans is even lower than their relatively low family income would indicate.

Age

Several factors affected the occupational composition of the Spanish-American household heads. One of these was age. The typical Spanish-American head of household was close to 50 years of age, and at this age was probably at a disadvantage in upgrading his occupational skills because of industry restrictions in hiring, training and promoting older persons and because of his lower educational attainment.

Language

Another factor affecting their occupational structure is their use of a foreign language. Most of the Spanish-American household heads commonly spoke Spanish at home, even though a large majority were born in Texas. Relative lack of facility in English is probably an important condition contributing to the very low representation of Spanish-Americans in white-collar jobs where the ability to read and write the English language is essential.

Education

Continued use of Spanish in adult life is probably also closely related to the head's low educational achievement, as is the introduction of large proportions of the Spanish-Americans to fulltime employment before the age at which most persons finish school. The average Spanish-American household head living in the rural area completed only 3 years of formal schooling and the urban head completed 6 years. Compared with this, the average non-Spanish adult in the same areas had at least twice that amount of education. Differences in educational level are reflected in differences in occupation between the heads of Spanish-American households and the total population, particularly in the white-collar and the semi-skilled and unskilled blue-collar jobs.

Occupational Comparisons

Thus, many personal characteristics of the household heads, especially their relatively advanced age, use of the Spanish language and low educational level are closely interrelated and are all factors influencing occupation and, consequently, earnings.

Generally, the jobs of the Spanish-American household heads were in the lower status occupations with the average rural resident employed in farm work and the average urban resident working in blue-collar jobs. Comparison with the total male population of the areas studied emphasizes the occupational differences between these groups.

One major difference is that the rural Spanish-American heads were much more commonly employed in farm work than was the total male population. The proportions were 54 and 37 percent, respectively. In the city, farm work was rare for either population group.

Another major occupational difference between the Spanish-Americans and the total population was in the job skills represented among blue-collar workers, in both the city and the rural area. Relatively large proportions of Spanish-Americans were working as unskilled blue-collar laborers and relatively small proportions were skilled craftsmen and semi-skilled operatives compared with the total population. For example, 3 out of 10 of the Spanish-American heads of households in San Antonio were unskilled laborers compared with 1 out of 10 in the total male population.

Differences between Spanish-Americans and the total population were also found among service workers, who were more frequent among the Spanish-Americans. Service workers were often cab drivers, waiters, and other relatively unskilled people who could undertake service work with little job training and formal education.

Finally, occupational differences were noticeable in the relatively smaller number of Spanish-American white-collar workers in both the city and the rural county. For example, 4 out of 10 males among all workers in San Antonio were professional and other white-collar workers; only 2 in 10 Spanish-American heads were in such jobs. The higher educational level of the total population was an obvious and important factor explaining this occupational difference.

There is evidence that improvement of job skills has taken place among the Spanish-American people. A comparison of the earliest with the current job held by the household heads indicates that shifts away from hired farm work were made by large proportions of Spanish-Americans, both in the city and in the country. The trend was primarily from farm work toward the blue-collar jobs. A few farm laborers became operators of their own farm.

Among household heads who had started their careers in nonfarm jobs, however, there was little upward occupational mobility. Among the San Antonio heads, for example, there was no significant change in the proportion working as blue-collar workers by the time of the field study, nor in the skill levels represented among them. In the rural area, some of the nonfarm workers changed to farm jobs.

Further evidence that the Spanish-Americans are moving toward the higher status and generally higher paying jobs is provided by a comparison of jobs held by those who were at one time members of the households interviewed with those of the household heads studied. These persons, who were primarily sons and daughters of the head, moved away from the farm occupations of their parents, as the household heads themselves had turned away from farm work between their first and current job. By the time of the survey, only 16 percent of the male former members of rural households were doing farm work compared with 54 percent of the household heads. Most of the remaining younger generation Spanish-American males from rural households were in blue-collar jobs, reflecting an intergenerational pattern of change for the rural area of a decline in farm and an increase in blue-collar occupations.

Principal intergenerational changes in the city showed up in the smaller proportion of unskilled laborers and the larger proportion of white-collar workers among the younger generation male Spanish-Americans compared with their parents.

However, in most occupations, the younger generation Spanish-Americans had not improved their skills sufficiently to match those of the total population, and they occupied a position midway between their parents and the total population. For example, in San Antonio the proportion of laborers, both farm and nonfarm, among male younger generation Spanish-Americans (2 in 10) was twice as high as that in the total population (1 in 10), but substantially less than that among Spanish-American household heads (3 in 10).

The same midway position was characteristic of the younger Spanish-Americans with respect to the proportion employed in white-collar jobs. Approximately 3 out of 10 of the younger generation male Spanish-Americans were white-collar workers, compared with 2 out of 10 of the Spanish-American household heads and 4 out of 10 of all males in San Antonio.

The service occupations, which usually decline in frequency as white-collar occupations become more prevalent, did not decrease between the two generations of male Spanish-Americans. Among both generations, service workers were relatively more numerous than service workers in the total male population in both areas.

Female former members of San Antonio households worked predominantly in the service occupations, whereas white-collar workers prevailed among all women in San Antonio.

In addition to revealing the degree of progress made by the Spanish-American people in upgrading their occupational skills up to the time of the field study, several indications become apparent that this improvement will continue.

Educational Comparisons

One of these signs is the much higher educational level of the adult younger generation Spanish-Americans who were once members of the households interviewed. These persons achieved an educational level double that of their parents and almost on a par with the educational level of the total non-Spanish population around them. Averages were 8 and 12 years of schooling completed, respectively, by the Spanish-American former members of rural and urban households.

This marked educational achievement shows that educational progress is a present reality with the younger generation Spanish-American people, and with the lowering of employment barriers in their communities, will likely be reflected in a continued and increasing degree of participation by the Spanish-Americans in the higher paying occupations.

The Spanish-Americans believe that education is the most important avenue to higher incomes and better jobs and to an increasing role in the social and political organizations of the communities in which they live. Because of this belief, their household heads have high educational aspirations for their young children and probably influence them accordingly. Approximately 9 out of 10 of the children living at home in both the rural and urban areas wanted to finish high school, and among the urban youth almost half planned to attend college.

Household heads also have high aspirations for the future occupations of their young children living at home, and this, too, points to a future improvement in the occupational status of the Spanish-American people. Of the household heads in the urban area, almost half hoped that their sons would seek careers in professional fields. With respect to farm work, most of the household heads and their children were definitely opposed to it as a permanent occupation.

Income

The family income of the Spanish-Americans studied is considerably lower than that of the non-Spanish population in their communities. Median incomes were $2500 and $3000, respectively, for the rural and urban Spanish-American families. These were little more than half the incomes of the non-Spanish families in the areas surveyed.

Most of the income of the Spanish-American families was composed of the wage and salary earnings

of the head of household, whose low wages could not produce an adequate income for the family. Earnings of other household members was the second most important source of aggregate family income; farm income was a relatively small source.

Income was very closely related to occupation, education, place of birth and language spoken by the household head. The highest incomes (about $4200) were reported by families whose heads had completed high school. Average incomes were higher for families whose heads were employed in nonfarm work rather than in farm work, who were born in Texas rather than in Mexico, and who usually spoke English at work rather than Spanish.

One of the factors involved in the movement away from farm work and from rural areas generally, might be the lower level of living which prevails in the rural areas, as measured by the number and kinds of material goods possessed by the family. Rural Spanish-American families were on a relative par with the urban families in the possession of items usually linked to electricity, such as television sets, radios, refrigerators and washing machines, but they lagged in items linked with water supply, namely, bathroom plumbing and hot running water. In the rural area, two-thirds of the families had no bathroom plumbing and three-fourths had no hot running water in their homes.

Spanish-American household heads believed that some progress had been made by their people with respect to jobs, earnings, living conditions and acceptance by the "Anglo" population during the past 10 years. They were generally optimistic about prospects for continued improvement in their overall position. They also expressed the hope that their children, particularly through education, would obtain better jobs and play a bigger political and social role in their communities in the future.

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Occupational Change Among Spanish-Americans in Atascosa County and San Antonio, Texas

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Spanish-Americans constitute a large and rapidly growing segment of the total population of Texas and certain portions of the Southwest. There were 3.5 million persons of Spanish surname living in the southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas in 1960, comprising 12 percent of the total population of these five states.[1]

Approximately 1.4 million Spanish-Americans resided in Texas in 1960. They represented 15 percent of the State's total population and are growing at a faster rate than was the total population of Texas. During the 1950-60 decade, white persons of Spanish surname increased by 38 percent in Texas, although some of the increase may represent more complete identification in the 1960 Census. The State's total population grew by 24 percent.

Persons of Spanish surname are most numerous in the southern and southwestern sections of Texas (Figure 1). In 14 southern counties, they made up better than one-half of the total population in 1960.

Terminology

The term, "Spanish-American," as used in this study, refers to white persons of Spanish surname who speak Spanish and come from Spanish-speaking parentage. Various terms such as "Latin Americans," "Spanish people," "Spanish-speaking Americans" and "Mexicans" are often used interchangeably to identify this group. Colloquially, Spanish-Americans are often referred to by other whites in the area as "Mexicans." Many of them have a personal preference to be called "Spanish," "Latins" or "Latin-Americans," but others call themselves "Mexican."

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[1]Source: United States Census of Population, 1960, Subject Reports, "Persons of Spanish Surname," Vol. PC (2) 1B.

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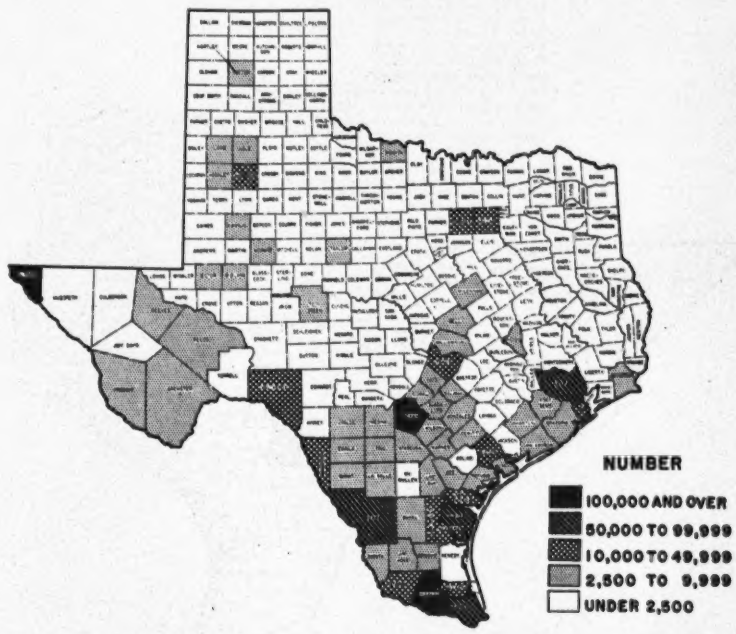

Figure 1. Spanish-American population in Texas counties, by number, 1960.

They are largely of Mexican and Mexican-Indian origin and vary from persons whose Spanish ancestors settled in the area well before the Mexican revolt from Spain to the "wetback" who has established himself recently as a resident of the United States. Understandably, the cultural differences between these two extremes are great, but the older settlers of Mexican and Spanish origin comprise only a small percentage of the Spanish-American population in Texas today. Spanish-speaking persons of non-Mexican background, such as Puerto Ricans or Cubans, were almost nonexistent in the area at the time of the field study.

Purpose of Study

Although there has been considerable speculation concerning the changing nature of the labor force among Spanish-Americans, little formal research, other than that dealing with migrant farm workers, has been conducted in recent years. As a part of their continuing cooperative research program in population studies, the Farm Population Branch (now the Human Resources Branch) of the Economic Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, and the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station undertook a field study to determine and evaluate labor force adjustments made by Spanish-Americans in two areas of Texas, one urban and one rural.

The general objective of this study was to provide a better understanding of the role of the Spanish-American in the agricultural and nonagricultural labor force of Texas. Specifically, the study deals with (1) changes in the occupational patterns of Spanish-Americans within and outside of agriculture and the factors involved in these changes, (2) income and education levels, (3) levels of living as indicated by the possession of material goods and (4) aspirational levels among family heads for themselves and for their children.

Figure 3. Strawberries grown in Atascosa County provide agricultural jobs for Spanish-American workers during the harvest season.

Figure 2. Location of study areas.

Areas of Study

The research was conducted in Atascosa County and the city of San Antonio in Bexar County[2] (Figure 2). These locations were selected because (1) they were areas in which Spanish-Americans formed an important ethnic group, both numerically and culturally, (2) they encompassed both rural and urban people so that comparisons could be made between residence groups and (3) they were thought to be representative of broader areas so that the research results would have some application to the Spanish-American situation in Texas.

Although the two counties are contiguous, they represent diverse situations in South Texas. San Antonio is a large urban place; Atascosa is basically a rural county. Approximately one-fifth of the State s Spanish-Americans live in the two study areas.

Atascosa County is a diversified agricultural area which also has some petroleum production. The open country is largely grassy prairies, much of it covered with mesquite, huisache and other brush. Sandy loamy soils predominate. It ranks high among Texas counties in beef and hog production, watermelons and peanuts, but it also has diversified truck crops, grains and dairying. (Figures 3 and 4).

In 1960, Atascosa County had a population of 19,000, of which 9,000, or 45 percent, were Spanish-Americans. Jourdanton is the county seat. Other trade centers are Pleasanton, Poteet and Charlotte. Approximately 67 percent of Atascosa County's population was classified as rural in 1960.

[2]The names of both study areas are of Spanish origin: Atascosa, means "boggy" and Bexar was the name given to an old Spanish municipality "Duke de Bexar" by Franciscan fathers in 1718. The Spanish-American influence in these areas is widely known.

Figure 4. Spanish-American women have seasonal employment packing strawberries grown in Atascosa County.

The population of the central city of San Antonio was almost 600,000. Of this number, 250,000, or 42 percent, were Spanish-Americans. San Antonio is experiencing rapid industrial and population expansion, typical of the other large population centers of Texas.

Method of Study

Area probability samples of households for each of the study locations were drawn by the Statistical Standards Division of the Statistical Reporting Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture. The sample yielded 268 interviews in Atascosa County and 276 in San Antonio. About half of the interview households in Atascosa County were located in the open country, and the remainder were in town. The sample households in San Antonio were largely in the southwestern section of the city, where most of San Antonio's Spanish-Americans reside. Interviews were conducted during the last 2 weeks of December 1961 and the first 2 weeks of January 1962.

TABLE 1. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS IN SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS

Age in years	Atascosa County	San Antonio
Total number	1,424	1,317
Percent	100	100
Under 15	40	45
15-44	39	36
45 and over	21	19
Median age	22.5	18.8

TABLE 2. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Age in years	Atascosa County	San Antonio
Total number	268	276
Percent	100	100
Under 25	5	5
25-44	35	44
45-54	19	18
55 and over	41	33
Median age	49.6	46.5

SOCIAL AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS

This report focuses on changes in occupational status of Spanish-American household heads. Since changes in occupation and related attributes are closely associated with social and personal characteristics, a brief description of the study population will set the stage for the analysis to follow.

Sex

Of the 268 sample households in Atascosa County, 94 percent were headed by males. In contrast, males headed only 78 percent of the households in San Antonio. The greater percentage of female heads in San Antonio can be attributed to the relatively large number of women among the Spanish-American population in the city, of whom many were living alone or without a spouse, thus qualifying as heads of household.

Age

Age may have an important bearing on employment situations, earnings, and ability to adjust to changing economic conditions. Most employers set fairly definite age limits in hiring new workers, retiring older workers, for training programs and in promotion policies.

Spanish-American household heads, in contrast to the relatively lower median age of the total Spanish-American population, were close to 50 years of age (Tables 1 and 2). Since educational levels are lower among older persons, and they have less ability and

TABLE 3. SIZE OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS

Size of household	Atascosa County	San Antonio
Total number of households	268	276
Percent	100	100
1 person	1	9
2-3 persons	25	26
4-5 persons	28	30
6-7 persons	28	18
8 or more	18	17
Average size of household	5.3	4.8

TABLE 4. CURRENT MEMBERS OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, BY SEX AND RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Relationship to household head	Atascosa County					San Antonio				
	Total		Percent distribution by sex			Total		Percent distribution by sex		
	Number	Percent	Total	Male	Female	Number	Percent	Total	Male	Female
Total	1,424	100	100	51	49	1,317	100	100	46	54
Head	268	19	100	94	6	276	21	100	78	22
Spouse	234	16	100	0	100	199	15	100	0	100
Son	411	29	100	100	0	347	26	100	100	0
Daughter	387	27	100	0	100	392	30	100	0	100
Other	124	9	100	48	52	103	8	100	39	61

propensity to change jobs, part of the heavy concentration of heads in jobs as laborers, both farm and nonfarm, may be attributed to their relatively advanced age. The educational and occupational levels of the younger generation Spanish-Americans are higher than those of their parents.

Household Size

A total of 1,424 persons resided in the 268 Spanish-American households interviewed in Atascosa County, an average of 5.3 persons per household (Table 3). Households were somewhat smaller in the San Antonio sample, averaging about 4.8 persons, with a total of 1,317 persons in 276 households. The principal difference in size between the urban and rural Spanish-American households results from the greater prevalence of one-person households in San Antonio, many of which consist of women living alone, and from the higher incidence of large families (6 or more persons) among the rural Spanish-Americans (Table 3).

Spanish-American households were considerably larger than those of the total population of Texas, which in 1960 averaged 3.4 persons per household. Both the greater number of children per household and the tradition of friends and other relatives living with the immediate family contributed to the larger average size of Spanish-American households.

In this survey, persons other than sons, daughters and parents were counted as members of the household if they had been living in the household for a major part of the year; temporary inhabitants were excluded. About one-tenth of the total household membership in each sample area at the time of the study consisted of friends and relatives other than the immediate family (Table 4).

In addition to the current membership of the Spanish-American households, information was obtained on persons who had been living in these households during the 10-year period prior to the field study but who had moved away from home before the survey. About two-fifths of the rural households and one-third of the urban households had such former members who consisted for the most part of sons and daughters of the household head (Table 5). A later section of this report will examine the occupations of the former members of survey households in order to compare the occupational changes which have taken place between one generation of Spanish-Americans and another.

Nativity Status

The study areas are readily accessible to Mexico, and a great deal of travel and visiting, as well as permanent migration, takes place between the study areas and Mexico. San Antonio is approximately 150 miles from Nuevo Laredo, Mexico; 150 miles to Ciudad Acuna; and 140 miles to Piedras Negras. The distances between Atascosa County and these points are slightly less since Atascosa County is just south of San Antonio.

Despite their proximity to Mexico, most of the Spanish American household heads in the study samples were native-born Americans. Only two-tenths of the rural and three-tenths of the urban household heads were born in Mexico. Almost all of the remainder were born in Texas. Of the household heads born in Texas, about 65 percent were born in the county they were residing in at the time of the survey.

TABLE 5. FORMER MEMBERS OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, BY SEX AND RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Relationship to household head	Atascosa County					San Antonio				
	Total		Percent distribution by sex			Total		Percent distribution by sex		
	Number	Percent	Total	Male	Female	Number	Percent	Total	Male	Female
Total number	275	100	100	51	49	151	100	100	42	58
Sons and daughters	235	85	100	49	51	99	66	100	42	58
Others	40	15	100	60	40	52	34	100	58	42

Figure 5. Not only is the Spanish language often used among Spanish-Americans for conversations, but it is also frequently used for movies, radio and television presentations.

Use of English and Spanish

Although the majority were born in the United States, most of the Spanish-American household heads in both the rural and urban areas spoke Spanish more than English in the home (Figure 5). This practice, however, was more common in the country than in the city. Almost three-fourths of the heads of household in Atascosa County always or usually used Spanish in their conversations with other adults in their homes compared with approximately three-fifths of the household heads in San Antonio. About 20 percent of the household heads in the rural sample used English and Spanish about equally in talking to other adults in their homes compared to 30 percent in the city. Less than 10 percent in either area used English as their primary language at home.

Age had some bearing on language used, with persons under 25 making the least frequent use of Spanish and heads 55 and over the greatest relative use of this language (Table 6). Even among the youngest household heads, however, only about 30 percent in the city and less than 10 percent in the country spoke English most of the time.

The degree to which a foreign language is used by household heads is undoubtedly associated with levels of educational attainment, occupational status and incomes of the Spanish-Americans in Texas.

TABLE 7. AGE AT WHICH SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS BEGAN FIRST FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT

Age in years	Atascosa County	San Antonio
Total number	268	276
Percent	100	100
14 and under	43	15
15-17	30	29
18-19	15	18
20-24	8	21
25 and over	2	9
Not applicable[1]	2	8

[1]Five household heads in Atascosa County and 21 in San Antonio never had a full-time job at any time in their lives.

Age at Which First Full-time Job Began

Many heads of households included in the study samples began working at their first full-time jobs at comparatively young ages. This may have occurred because of the need to contribute to the family income, probably blocking the young Spanish-American from adequate school attendance, and consequently preventing him from obtaining sufficient training for employment in the higher paying occupations in his adult life.

About two-fifths of the Atascosa County household heads began working at a full-time job before the age of 15 and three-fourths had full-time jobs before they were 18 (Table 7). Entrance to the full-time labor force for urban residents occurred a little later in life, with less than half of the San Antonio heads employed before they reached the age of 18. Although a few persons in each of the two study areas took their first job after they were 25 years of age, most of these were women who went to work for the first time after they were married. This was particularly true for the urban area.

The difference in age at which the Spanish-Americans started full-time work as youngsters in the rural area and the city is largely due to the greater number of agricultural jobs that were available in the rural area and also to the greater amount of

TABLE 6. LANGUAGE USED AT HOME BY SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN CONVERSATIONS WITH OTHER ADULTS, BY AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Language used	Atascosa County					San Antonio				
	Total	Under 25	25-44	45-54	55 and over	Total	Under 25	25-44	45-54	55 and over
Total number	268	14	94	51	109	276	14	119	51	92
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Always or usually Spanish	73	43	64	76	83	61	36	54	51	79
Equal Spanish and English	21	50	28	20	12	30	36	34	43	18
Always or usually English	6	7	8	4	5	9	28	12	6	3

TABLE 8. YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER AND BY ALL PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER EXCLUDING THOSE OF SPANISH SURNAME

Years of school completed	Atascosa County		San Antonio	
	Spanish-American household heads	All persons excluding those of Spanish surname[1]	Spanish-American household heads	All persons excluding those of Spanish surname[1]
Total persons 25 years old and over	254	5,865	262	193,893
Percent	100	100	100	100
Less than 1 year	33	3	10	1
1-4 years	33	10	30	5
5-8 years	26	33	37	25
9-11 years	3	20	11	20
12 years or more	5	34	12	49
Median years	3.1	9.6	6.1	11.9

[1]Source: 1960 Bureau of the Census, Vol. PC (1) 45C, "Texas: General Social and Economic Characteristics," Table 83, p. 495, and Table 73, p. 386, and Vol. PC (2) 1B, Tables 13 and 14.

pressure brought to bear on children by school authorities in the urban areas to attend school until reaching certain age levels.

EDUCATIONAL STATUS

The importance of education has long been recognized as a necessary prerequisite to occupational advancement and accompanying higher incomes. Many job opportunities are closed to persons with little education, and they find it difficult to improve their economic situation. One of the purposes of this study was to compare the educational status of the Spanish-Americans with that of the general population of the area and to examine the relationship between education, occupation and other socio-economic characteristics of the Spanish-Americans.

Education of Household Heads

In general, Spanish-American household heads aged 25 and over had little formal education (Table 8). One-third of the rural household heads had not even completed a year of school. In San Antonio, educational levels were slightly higher, with only one-tenth of the household heads reporting less than a year of school. Education beyond grade school was relatively rare among Spanish-Americans; only about a tenth of the rural heads and two-tenths of the urban heads had completed more than 8 years of school.

In comparison, the non-Spanish population 25 years of age and older in the areas surveyed had completed at least twice as many years of school as the Spanish-Americans. In San Antonio, the average person in the non-Spanish population had almost completed high school while the average Spanish-American household head was 2 years short of completing grade school. Educational levels of the total non-Spanish population in the rural area were lower than those in the city, but educational differences between Spanish-Americans and the remaining population were just as marked as they were for San Antonio.

TABLE 9. YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS, BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HEAD

Selected characteristics	Atascosa County								San Antonio							
	Total		Years of school completed						Total		Years of school completed					
	Number	Percent	Less than one	1-4	5-8	9-11	12 or more	Median	Number	Percent	Less than one	1-4	5-8	9-11	12 or more	Median
Occupation																
Employed	223	100	28	32	31	4	5	3.7	191	100	9	21	38	16	16	7.1
Farm work	121	100	40	32	23	2	3	2.3	4	[2]						
Nonfarm work	102	100	15	32	40	7	6	5.3	187	100	8	21	39	16	16	7.2
Not employed	45	100	47	27	20	0	6	1.5	85	100	12	47	34	5	2	4.2
Age																
Under 25 years	14	100	7	7	72	7	7	7.0	14	100	0	14	36	36	14	9.0
25-44 years	94	100	16	29	40	5	10	5.5	119	100	7	17	41	17	18	7.6
45-64 years	110	100	35	37	23	3	2	2.6	97	100	16	33	36	8	7	5.2
65 years and over	50	100	58	30	10	0	2	.9	46	100	9	57	30	2	2	3.9
Place of birth																
Texas[1]	207	100	27	30	33	4	6	4.1	183	100	10	21	38	16	15	7.0
Mexico	60	100	46	37	17	0	0	1.4	86	100	10	46	33	6	5	4.4
Language used at home																
Always or usually Spanish	196	100	37	31	26	3	3	2.7	168	100	16	31	40	9	4	5.3
Equal English and Spanish	56	100	20	32	34	5	9	4.8	84	100	0	29	37	14	20	7.3
Always or usually English	16	100	6	25	50	6	13	6.5	24	100	4	17	17	29	33	10.3

[1]One household head in Atascosa County and seven in San Antonio were born elsewhere in the United States.

[2]Derived numbers not shown where base is less than ten.

Education in Relation to Selected Socio-economic Factors

Age, place of birth and language spoken are closely associated with level of education of Spanish-Americans. Furthermore, employment status, occupation and income are related to all of these factors. Table 9 illustrates these relationships among study household heads.

There is an inverse relationship between age and level of education. Heads under 25 years of age had more education than other groups of household heads studied; they averaged about 8 years of schooling. The level of education dropped steadily with advances in age to a low of 1 year for the aged in Atascosa County and 4 years for the oldest age group in San Antonio.

In both study areas, household heads born in Texas had obtained more education than those born in Mexico. For example, Texas-born household heads living in Atascosa County completed 4 years of school compared to less than 2 years for those born in Mexico. Educational levels were somewhat higher in the city but still dependent on place of birth.

Educational level of household heads is closely associated with language used in conversations in their homes. Those Atascosa County household heads who always or usually spoke Spanish in conversations with other adults at home had a median of 3 years of school completed as contrasted to 6.5 years completed for those who always or usually spoke English. In San Antonio, household heads speaking mostly English had achieved the highest educational levels among Spanish-Americans. One-third of this group had completed high school.

Employed heads of households had more education than those who were out of the labor force or unemployed, and household heads engaged in non-farm work had attended school for a longer period than farm workers.

Education of Former Members of Spanish-American Households

Much progress in educational attainment was evident among the younger generation Spanish-Americans. Sons and daughters who had left their parents' homes at some time during the 10 years preceding the field study had completed, on the average, at least twice as many years of schooling as their parents, 8.4 years in Atascosa County and 11.7 years in San Antonio. The average for household heads was 3 and 6 years, respectively.

In fact, the educational level of the urban younger generation Spanish-Americans had increased to approximately the level of the non-Spanish population in San Antonio.[3] Former members of Spanish-American rural households lagged about a year behind the non-Spanish population of Atascosa County.

Educational Aspirations of Spanish-American Youth

Despite the low educational achievement of household heads, educational aspirations of their children were high. As with occupation, educational hopes were higher among Spanish-American youth who were living in San Antonio. As reported by the household heads in San Antonio, 94 percent of their sons and daughters, aged 10 to 17, wanted to receive at least a high school education compared to 82 percent of the rural youth.

San Antonio youngsters were particularly ambitious concerning plans to attend college, although their parents in some cases indicated that it was doubtful that they would actually be able to attend. Almost half (45 percent) of the sons and daughters of the San Antonio household heads wanted to attend college, but only 3 out of 10 were expected to actually do so. Such phrases as "he just won't have the money" or "he will have to go to work to help earn a living" were common answers given by household heads in San Antonio to explain the gap between their children's educational desires and their expectations of achieving these goals. College education among rural residents was desired by only 14 percent of the children in Spanish-American households.

EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS

One of the major objectives of this study was to analyze changes in the occupational status of Spanish-Americans. This was accomplished through examination of the work histories of household heads and through a comparison of occupations of household heads with those of younger generation family members who were no longer living at home.

Percent in Labor Force

Of the total Spanish-American heads of households surveyed in both Atascosa County and San Antonio, a larger proportion of the rural (85 percent) than of the urban (74 percent) heads were in the labor force.[4] This is largely due to the greater incidence of male household heads in the rural county. Since males customarily have a higher labor force participation rate, the relatively larger number of women

[3]This comparison might overstate the educational achievement of former household members slightly because the Spanish-Americans were being compared with a population of an older average age. If the second generation Spanish-Americans were matched with persons in the total population who were of their own age level, the comparison would probably reveal that they had not achieved comparable educational status.

[4]Information on current labor force status of the study group, unless otherwise specified, related to the month of December 1961.

TABLE 10. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Employment status as of December, 1961	Atascosa County	San Antonio
Total number	268	276
Percent	100	100
In the labor force	85	74
Employed	83	69
Unemployed	2	5
Not in labor force	15	26
Keeping house	3	5
Retired	7	16
Disabled	5	5

and of retired persons in the city tended to lower the rate for San Antonio (Table 10).

In San Antonio there was a fairly large number of heads (8 percent) who never held a full-time job; the proportion was negligible in Atascosa. All of these persons were women.

Of the household heads who were not in the labor force at the time of the survey, the largest proportion were retired, others were either disabled or keeping house. About twice as many Spanish-Americans in San Antonio were retired as in the rural area, possibly because of better opportunities for formal retirement in the city.

Extent of Unemployment

Unemployment rates among Spanish-American heads followed patterns prevalent generally; they were higher in the city than in the rural area. During the survey period, those who were unemployed represented 6.4 and 2.2 percent, respectively, of the Spanish-American household heads in the labor force in these areas. The urban rate for Spanish-American heads was somewhat higher than the 5.3 percent national unemployment rate for adult men 20 years of age and over, and the 4.2 percent rate for married men in December 1961.[5] The relatively low unemployment rate for the rural Spanish-Americans does not reveal the considerable underemployment characteristic for many rural areas wherein persons work often for only part of a week or for less than 8 hours a day.

During the year 1961, 8 household heads in the rural study group and 19 in the city sample had been unemployed and looking for work for 4 weeks or longer.[6] Three in Atascosa County and five in San Antonio had been unemployed for 26 weeks or longer. Within each sample group, Spanish-American household heads born in Mexico tended to have higher unemployment rates than those born in Texas.

[5]Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor.

[6]Although there were others who may have been unemployed and looking for work for shorter periods of time, information was not recorded for those who were unemployed for less than four weeks in 1961.

Occupation

There was a pronounced difference in occupation between city and rural residents among Spanish-American household heads, as there is among rural and urban residents generally. Within each area, there also was a notable difference in the occupational distribution of Spanish-American heads and the total male population (Tables 11 and 14).[7]

One of the principal differences in occupation between the Spanish-American household heads and the total male population was in the incidence of farm work. This occupational difference related to the rural residents, among whom slightly more than half of the Spanish-American heads were employed at farm work compared to about two-fifths of all males. Farm work was almost nonexistent for the urban residents at the time of the survey despite the fact that relatively large numbers of the urban Spanish-American heads had started their careers doing farm work.

Migratory work among Spanish-American farm laborers was about as common as it was for all farm laborers in the United States. In 1961, about one-tenth of all the rural Spanish-American heads who had worked as farm laborers at any time during the year had left their home county to do this work. The proportion of all hired farm laborers in the United States who did migratory farm labor was about the same.

Another important occupational difference between Spanish-Americans and the total population

[7]A comparison was made between the occupations of Spanish-American heads and the total male population in order to keep sex constant in evaluating occupational differences. Almost all of the Spanish-American employed heads were male, while a very large proportion of the total employed population was female, and, traditionally, heavily concentrated in clerical jobs and less commonly employed as craftsmen or laborers. Specifically, 3 of the employed household heads in Atascosa County and 18 in San Antonio were females. Of the former, two were farm operators and one a service worker. Of the latter, 13 were service workers and 5 white-collar workers.

TABLE 11. OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Occupation	Atascosa County	San Antonio[1]
Total	223	191
Percent	100	100
Farm work	54	2
Operators & managers	31	0
Laborers	23	2
Nonfarm	46	98
Professional & managers	5	7
Clerical & sales	2	12
Service workers	10	21
Craftsmen	8	18
Operatives	4	11
Laborers	17	29

[1]This includes two household heads in the Armed Forces who were classified with service workers.

which reflected their relatively low occupational status was in the proportion employed as white-collar workers. Professional, technical, clerical and sales jobs were held by only one-fifth of the urban Spanish-Americans but by two-fifths of the total male population in San Antonio. There were fewer white-collar workers, generally in the rural area than in the city, but, here also Spanish-Americans were under-represented in the white-collar jobs compared to the total population.

The low proportion of Spanish-American heads in white-collar jobs stems in part from their very low educational level. In addition, the Spanish-American's infrequent use of English in everyday conversation probably reflects a lack of facility in reading and speaking English. This situation would constitute a major barrier to adequate performance of white-collar work which relies so extensively on the printed word.

The larger proportion of Spanish-American heads working in the service occupations constitutes a third major area of difference between the Spanish-Americans and the total population. Service work was about as common for Spanish-American household heads as were white-collar jobs. Approximately one-fifth of the heads were employed in each of these occupation groups in San Antonio.[8] Among all males in the city, however, white-collar workers outnumbered service workers four to one. Service work was not a common occupation for rural residents, but it was more prevalent among Spanish-Americans than among all males.

Many of the service jobs held by the Spanish-Americans are as waiters, cab drivers, and other relatively unskilled workers; they require little formal education.

A final major area of difference in the occupations followed by Spanish-American household heads and the total male population was in the skill level of the blue-collar workers. Unskilled laborers were far more common among the Spanish-Americans in both the city and the country. About three out of five urban Spanish-Americans were employed as blue-collar workers in December 1961 and fully half of these persons were unskilled laborers. Among all male blue-collar workers, only one out of five was an unskilled laborer. Thus, a total of three out of ten Spanish-American heads in San Antonio were unskilled laborers compared to one male out of ten in the city. Conversely, skilled and semi-skilled blue-collar workers were relatively more numerous in the total population.

A similar situation prevailed in the rural area, where the majority of the working population, both Spanish-American and all male, who were not doing farm work were employed in blue-collar jobs. The blue-collar workers in the total male population, however, were largely skilled craftsmen and semi-skilled operatives. Unskilled laborers comprised only one-fifth of all male blue-collar workers in Atascosa County but a little over half of the Spanish-American blue-collar workers.

[8]Approximately 16 percent of the Spanish-American heads and 72 percent of the female Spanish-American heads in San Antonio were service workers.

Dual Jobholding

Among farm workers, generally, dual jobholding is often a means of transition from farm to nonfarm work, and many Spanish-Americans may have taken the same route away from farm work. At the time of the survey, 18 percent of the household heads in Atascosa County held two jobs simultaneously. All but one of these involved farming and hired farm work combined with a nonfarm job. None of the San Antonio household heads were working at more than one job in December 1961.

OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE AMONG SPANISH-AMERICANS

Occupational Change from First to Current Job by Household Heads

As is customary among persons in the labor force, there was considerable change in occupation by heads of Spanish-American households from the time they begin their first full-time job to the time the field study was conducted.[9] The major change was a decline in the number of farm workers and an increase in the number of blue-collar workers, especially of unskilled laborers. Some small increase occurred in the proportion of household heads employed in white-collar jobs but there was little change in the incidence of service workers (Table 12).

Among both rural and urban residents, there was a shift of major proportions away from agricultural jobs. Approximately four-fifths of the Atascosa County family heads listed either farm work or operating a farm as their first full-time occupation (Figure 6). By the time of the survey only half were doing farm work. In San Antonio, also, there was a distinct movement away from farm work in the later career of household heads. Almost none of the urban Spanish-Americans were doing farm work in the early 1960's compared to one-fifth who had worked on farms when they started their careers.

The move away from farm work in both survey areas occurred primarily among those persons who had worked as farm laborers. The number of Spanish-American heads who were working as hired farm hands declined sharply between first and current job in both the city and the rural area, while most of the heads who had started their careers as farm operators or managers remained in these occupations. Persons who had worked as farm laborers moved primarily to the blue-collar, and particularly to the unskilled jobs. In the rural area, however, about a fifth of the farm

[9]Detailed information was obtained for first full-time job, for job held at time of survey, and for all intervening types of jobs followed for a year or longer.

TABLE 12. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATION OF CURRENT JOB, BY OCCUPATION OF FIRST FULL-TIME JOB OF EMPLOYED SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Occupation of first fulltime job	Atascosa County: Employed household heads Number	Percent	Percent distribution by occupation of current job: Total	Farm operators and managers	Farm laborers	White collar and service workers	Craftsmen and operatives	Nonfarm laborers
Total	223	100	100	31	23	17	12	17
Farm workers	175	78	100	36	26	14	9	15
Operators & managers	54	24	100	69	4	13	7	7
Laborers	121	54	100	22	36	14	10	18
Nonfarm workers	48	22	100	12	13	27	23	25
White-collar and service	15	7	100	13	13	61	13	0
Craftsmen & operatives	7	3	[1]					
Laborers	26	12	100	12	15	8	23	42

Occupation of first fulltime job	San Antonio: Employed household heads Number	Percent	Percent distribution by occupation of current job: Total	Farm workers	White collar workers	Service workers	Craftsmen	Operatives	Nonfarm laborers
Total	191	100	100	2	19	20	18	11	30
Farm workers	42	22	100	7	14	24	10	10	35
Operators & managers	7	4	[1]						
Laborer	35	18	100	9	11	23	9	11	37
Nonfarm workers	149	78	100	1	20	19	21	11	28
White collar	19	10	100	0	74	0	5	5	16
Service	42	22	100	0	7	55	7	5	26
Craftsmen	26	14	100	4	19	0	65	4	8
Operatives	23	12	100	0	13	9	9	48	21
Laborers	39	20	100	0	13	10	20	3	54

[1]Percent not shown where base is less than ten.
[2]These were all farm laborers.

laborers had become farm operators by the time of the survey.

While career changes from farm to nonfarm work were striking, similar upgrading of occupations did not occur among persons who had started their careers in nonfarm jobs. Some of the nonfarm workers crossed occupational lines during their working careers, but the overall distribution of nonfarm occupations on the first and final jobs was very similar, particularly in San Antonio. About three-fifths of the urban farm workers were employed at blue-collar jobs at both the beginning of their careers and at the time of the field study, and about half of these workers were doing unskilled work in both periods.

Figure 6. Automation and technology reduce the need for Spanish-American farm labor. The operation of sprigging Coastal bermuda, which once required a large work crew, is now performed by two.

Similarly, there was little change in the proportion of household heads who were doing service work between their first and final jobs. In San Antonio, service work played a fairly important role as the first job occupation of household heads (about one-fifth were employed in service work), but career changes away from the other occupations were not directed in any significant degree toward the service jobs. Movement into white-collar jobs was slight; the overall proportion of urban household heads employed in white-collar jobs increased from one-tenth to two-tenths.

Some occupational change from nonfarm to farm jobs occurred in the rural area, where one-fourth of the household heads who had started their careers with nonfarm jobs subsequently turned to farm work.

Occupational Mobility

A history of types of jobs held for a year or longer was obtained for each household head employed dur-

TABLE 13. OCCUPATIONAL HISTORIES OF EMPLOYED SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY NUMBER AND TYPES OF OCCUPATIONS[1]

Number and types of occupations	Atascosa County	San Antonio
Total number	223	191
Percent	100	100
One occupation	37	31
Farm operator or manager	17	0
Farm laborer	15	1
Nonfarm work	5	30
Two or more occupations	63	69
Farm work only	12	0
Nonfarm work only	10	43
Change from nonfarm work on first job to farm work on final job	11	2
Change from farm work on first job to nonfarm work on final job	30	24

[1]Includes occupation of first full-time job and all subsequent occupations followed for a year or longer.

ing the survey in order to discover the dominant pattern of occupational change during the working career of the respondents.

About one-third of the household heads had been employed at only one type of job during their working career (Table 13). An additional one-third had been employed in two or more occupation groups, and the remainder in three or more occupations.

A movement from farm to nonfarm work was characteristic of persons who changed occupations. As many as half of the workers in rural sample who had held two or more kinds of jobs had made a change across farm-nonfarm occupations. A large percentage of these (two-fifths) had moved from farm to nonfarm work. A much smaller proportion (one-tenth) turned to farm work on their final job from previous jobs in nonfarm occupations.

Since there were proportionately fewer farm workers in the city, the change from farm to nonfarm jobs affected a smaller share of the urban household heads who had changed occupations during their working careers.

Occupation of Former Members of Spanish-American Households

A comparison of the current occupation of Spanish-American household heads and the occupations of household members (mainly sons and daughters) who had left the home by the time of the field study may be used as further evidence that Spanish-Americans are achieving moderate advances in occupational status (Table 14). The intergenerational differences consisted mostly of a decline in the importance of farm work as an occupation, some shift away from unskilled laborer jobs and a slight increase in the incidence of white-collar jobs among former members of Spanish-American households.

For the rural area, the major intergenerational change in occupations between household heads and former members of their households was a decline in farm workers and a rise in blue-collar workers. This continues the trend away from farm work evident between the first and final jobs recorded for the household heads themselves. Rural Spanish-Americans represented in farm work dropped from 54 percent among the family heads to 16 percent of the former male members. In fact, there were fewer farm workers

TABLE 14. OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED FORMER MEMBERS OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS AND OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY SEX

Occupation	Atascosa County				San Antonio			
	Former members of Spanish-American households[2]		All persons[1]		Former members of Spanish-American households[2]		All persons[1]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	110	27	4,094	1,212	53	29	115,814	60,790
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Farm work	16	4	37	11	4	0	1	[3]
Operators & managers	7	0	18	4	0	0	[3]	[3]
Laborers	9	4	19	7	4	0	[3]	[3]
Nonfarm	84	96	63	89	96	100	99	100
Professional & managers	4	4	13	18	15	10	22	19
Clerical & sales	10	67	6	33	17	21	18	44
Service workers	19	11	3	30	15	69	9	24
Craftsmen	16	7	17		23	0	23	1
Operatives	9	0	16	6	9	0	18	11
Laborers	26	7	8	2	17	0	9	1

[1]Source: 1960 U. S. Bureau of the Census, Vol. PC (1) 45C, "Texas: General Social & Economic Characteristics," Table 84, p. 517, and Table 74, p. 400.
[2]Includes former members who were employed at any time in 1961. In addition, there were 14 former members of Spanish-American households in Atascosa County and 9 former members from San Antonio households who were in the Armed Forces.
[3]Less than .5 percent.

among the younger generation Spanish-Americans than in the total male population of Atascosa County. This is probably because many of the former members of Spanish-American households left the rural area completely when they moved from their childhood home and were living in the city, where farm work is not generally available. Information on the occupation of the total population was collected at their place of residence, and the two characteristics of residence and occupation more nearly coincide.

The younger generation Spanish-Americans from the rural area moved from the farm occupations of their parents to blue-collar jobs. Half the former members of rural households were blue-collar workers compared with three-tenths of their parents. There was also a slight intergenerational increase in the relative number of white-collar and service workers among the children of rural household heads.

Occupational changes between generations of Spanish-Americans in San Antonio were not so marked as in the rural area and were restricted to the nonfarm occupations, since farm work was virtually nonexistent for either generation of Spanish-Americans at the time of the survey. Principal intergenerational changes occurred as declines in blue-collar workers and increases in white-collar workers. These changes placed the younger generation Spanish-Americans in a position which was midway with respect to occupational status between the household heads and the total male population.

One of the important intergenerational changes was in the lower proportion of unskilled blue-collar laborers among the younger group. Only 2 out of 10 in the younger male generation were blue-collar laborers compared with 3 out of 10 of the household heads. However, the younger generation Spanish-Americans had not improved their manual skills sufficiently to match those of the total population. Unskilled laborers among the younger generation Spanish-Americans still outnumbered those in the total male population, of whom only 1 in 10 were laborers.

If all laborers, both farm and nonfarm, are counted, a similar situation exists in the rural area. There are relatively fewer younger generation than older generation Spanish-Americans working as unskilled laborers and relatively more younger generation Spanish-American laborers than in the total population.

A middle-status occupation in which Spanish-Americans were not underrepresented was that of craftsmen. Approximately equal proportions of both generations of male Spanish-Americans and of the total male population in San Antonio were working as carpenters, bricklayers, mechanics and in other skilled blue-collar jobs. Apparently use of a foreign language and low educational level were not barriers to the acquisition of manual skills required for these jobs.

Some occupational upgrading also occurred in the white-collar occupations in which three-tenths of the younger male generation Spanish-Americans were employed. Here again, they have made occupational gains over their parents, among whom only two-tenths were white-collar workers. This did not quite reach the occupational level of the total male population of San Antonio of whom 4 in 10 were professional and other white-collar workers. The same pattern prevailed for the rural area.

Changes in the number of Spanish-Americans employed in the service occupations between the two generations were slight. However, in both study areas among both generations of Spanish-Americans, the proportion of males employed as service workers was larger than the proportion in the total male population. While an increase in the incidence of white-collar workers in a population indicates an upgrading of occupational skills, the reverse is true for the service occupations. These often include predominantly semi-skilled and unskilled jobs paying relatively low wages. The Spanish-American service worker seeking job improvement would tend to look to the white-collar fields, thus lowering the proportion of service workers among the Spanish-American people.

To summarize, the pattern of occupational change among male Spanish-Americans is one of a decline in the number of farm workers and a corresponding increase in blue-collar workers. Smaller increases occurred among white-collar workers. This was the pattern for intergenerational change among Spanish-Americans from the rural area and for long-term career changes of household heads who were living in the city at the time of the field study. Among urban residents, the intergenerational pattern of occupational change reflects reductions in blue-collar workers, particularly the unskilled laborers, and an increase in white-collar workers.

Among the Spanish-American men who had moved away from the households surveyed, a large majority (9 out of 10) were employed at some time during 1961. This was not the case for the females who used to live in these households. Only about one-fifth and two-fifths of the female former household members in Atascosa County and San Antonio, respectively, were working in 1961. The number of female former household members employed is too small, then, to permit anything but the broadest generalizations about their occupations.

As with the males, the female former members of Spanish-American households in San Antonio were underrepresented in the white-collar occupations and overrepresented in the service jobs when compared with all females in the total population. There were twice as many women in the total population, proportionately, who were working in clerical and other

white-collar fields as there were Spanish-American women. The reverse was true for the service jobs in which Spanish-American women were much more highly concentrated than were all women in the city.

Of the Spanish-American women who had lived in the rural households, many had probably moved to the city upon leaving their homes. Most of the women found jobs in the clerical fields.

About a tenth of the male former members of Spanish-American households were in the Armed Forces. Many of this group planned to remain with the military during their working career because they felt that they could advance as rapidly, or at a faster rate, than they could in private industry.

In general, former members of Spanish-American households who were in higher-status occupations had migrated away from the area in which their parents resided. For example, only about a tenth of the former members of Spanish-American households in San Antonio who became employed in the professional and managerial occupations were located in that city at the time of the survey. More than half had left the state and the remainder lived in Texas but some distance from San Antonio. For the most part, the younger generation Spanish-Americans who were in the lower status occupations tended to remain in the area of their former home or in the immediate vicinity.

Attitudes of Household Heads and Their Children Toward Farm Work as an Occupation

Attitudes of Spanish-American household heads and their sons toward farm work as an occupation were definitely negative. Among the household heads who had done farm work but were no longer working in this occupation, a majority (about three-fourths in each study area) would not consider doing farm work again. The most frequent reasons given for the unwillingness to return to farm occupations were that the work is too hard and the pay too low. Only about 15 percent of the household heads who had once done farm work were willing to return to it. The remaining household heads were undecided.

Most of the sons of Spanish-American household heads also preferred not to have farm employment, although the proportion expressing favorable attitudes was greater in the rural area. In Atascosa County, approximately one-third of the sons aged 10 to 17 were thought by their parents to be interested in some kind of farm work for their future employment. Only 5 percent of the sons living at home in San Antonio were interested in farming or wage work.

Differences in the willingness of boys to do farm work may be related to the amount of encouragement they received from their parents. In Atascosa County, about 40 percent of the 10 to 17 year old boys living at home were urged by their parents to enter farm work or to live on a farm. The proportion of children in San Antonio encouraged to do farm work was only

Figure 7. Spanish-American household heads have relatively high occupational aspirations for their sons. Youth, such as these, have hopes for better occupations than their parents.

14 percent. Most parents who had not encouraged their sons to do farm work indicated that they hoped their children could do better than farming or working on a farm.

Rural and urban heads differed not only in the proportion favorably inclined toward farm work as an occupation for their sons, but also in proportion who wanted their sons to enter the professional occupations (Figure 7). Relatively few (14 percent) of the rural heads who had sons under 18 living at home hoped that their boys would seek careers in professional fields while almost half (45 percent) of the household heads in San Antonio preferred these occupations for their sons. In the rural area, the occupations of skilled craftsmen were slightly more popular as the household head's choice of a son's career than were the professional occupations.

Aspirations were high in both sample areas for future work careers of daughters living in Spanish-American households, but here again, the urban household heads had higher aspirations. One-quarter of the rural heads and half of the urban heads with daughters living in their household hoped that their daughters would become employed as teachers or in some other professional occupation. An additional one-fifth in each area wanted to see their daughters working as secretaries or in some other clerical capacity.

INCOME STATUS

Although striking progress in income levels has been achieved by both Spanish-American and all other families in Texas in the last few decades, a relatively low level of income still persists among Spanish-American families.

Levels of Income

Generally, rural residents earned less than urban residents and Spanish-Americans earned less than

TABLE 15. INCOME OF SPANISH-AMERICAN FAMILIES AND OF ALL FAMILIES EXCLUDING THOSE WITH SPANISH SURNAME[1]

Income class	Atascosa County		San Antonio	
	Spanish-American families	All families[2] excluding those of Spanish surname	Spanish-American families	All families[2] excluding those of Spanish surname
All families	268	2,754	276	89,581
Percent	100	100	100	100
Under $1,000	11	9	10	4
1,000-1,999	28	14	16	7
2,000-2,999	24	11	24	9
3,000-3,999	15	10	24	11
4,000-5,999	13	23	17	25
6,000 and over	9	33	9	44
Median family income	$2,468	$4,480	$3,000	$5,470

[1]Incomes for Spanish-American families are for 1961 while those for all families are for 1959.
[2]Source: 1960 Bureau of the Census, Voi. PC (1) 45C, "Texas: General Social and Economic Characteristics," Table 76, page 428, and Table 86, page 561, and Vol. PC (2) 1B, "Persons of Spanish Surname," Tables 13 and 14.

other people. The Spanish-Americans in Atascosa County had the lowest incomes of all groups with whom they are compared, averaging about $2,500 in 1961 (Table 15). The average income for the non-Spanish families of Atascosa County was almost double, or $4,500, in 1959. Spanish-American families living in San Antonio had higher incomes than their rural counterpart, but they also received little more than half the income of the non-Spanish population of the city. Their medians were $3,000 and $5,500, respectively.[10]

There were very large proportions of the Spanish-American families with incomes below those normally quoted as being at the poverty level. Approximately two-thirds of the Spanish-American families in Atascosa County had an annual income of less than $3,000 in 1961, compared to one-third of the non-Spanish familes. Even though Spanish-American families in San Antonio had somewhat higher incomes, as many as half the families received less than $3,000 during the year. In contrast, only a fifth of the non-Spanish population of San Antonio had a total family income below $3,000.

[10]Income data of Spanish-Americans and the total population are not altogether comparable. The reference year for the former is 1961 and for the latter it is 1959.

TABLE 16. INCOME OF SPANISH-AMERICAN FAMILIES IN 1961 BY SOURCES OF INCOME

Source	Atascosa County	San Antonio
Total	$788,000	$885,000
Percent	100	100
Earnings of household heads[1]	52	65
Earnings of other family members[1]	25	23
Net farm income[2]	14	
Rents, interest and dividends[2]	1	1
Pensions, contributions and gifts[2]	8	11

[1]Includes income received for work performed as an employee (wages, salary, commissions, tips, piece-rate payments, and cash bonuses) and net income from nonfarm business. Does not include income from farming.
[2]Refers to income received by all family members.

Type of Income

Wage and salary earnings of the household head were the most important type of income for Spanish-American families, accounting for half the aggregate income of the rural families (Table 16). For the urban families, because of the absence of farming as an occupation, the wage and salary earnings of the head provided an even larger share (two-thirds) of the family's income.

The importance of the household head's earnings to the family's total income underscores the need for upgrading the job skills of the household head, whose generally low wages depress the financial resources of the Spanish-American family far below that of the total population. With educational and occupational achievements low among the household heads, their earnings, and consequently their family income, are also very low.

Earnings of other family members, representing one-fourth of the aggregate family income, were the second most important source of family income among both the rural and urban study groups.

In addition to the wage and salary earnings of the heads and of other members of their families, some Spanish-Americans living in the rural areas received income from farming; this type of income was not available to the urban group. Farm income, however, was relatively minor in relation to the total income received by the Spanish-American rural families, averaging no more than 14 percent of the total. Furthermore, it was a relatively small source of income considering that 3 out of 10 household heads in Atascosa County were farm operators.

The only other relatively important sources of income, comprising about one-tenth of the total family income, were pensions, welfare payments and gifts.

Number of Income Sources

Although their average family income was lower, rural Spanish-American families received their income from more sources than urban families, chiefly because of income from their farms (Table 17). A little more than half the rural families had 2 or more sources of income. However, for about half these families one of the sources was farm income, combined with some other type of income. The remaining rural families with two or more sources of income depended on the wage and salary earnings of 2 or more family members

or on earnings plus other nonfarm income such as pensions.

A little less than half the rural families had only one source of income available to them; for the majority of these families this consisted of the earnings of the household head. Most of the remaining families lived exclusively either on farm income or on pension income.

Almost two-thirds of the Spanish-American families living in San Antonio had only one source of family income, consisting in most cases of the wage or salary earnings of the household head. Second in importance was pensions, with 16 percent of the San Antonio families receiving this type of income only. Where there were two sources of income, they consisted of earnings of members of the family for about half the families and earnings combined with some other type of nonfarm income for the remaining half.

Despite the sizeable proportion of Spanish-American families receiving money income from two or more sources, their total income was low by almost any standard.

TABLE 17. NUMBER AND TYPES OF INCOME IN 1961 OF SPANISH-AMERICAN FAMILIES

Number and types of income	Atascosa County	San Antonio
Total families	268	276
Percent	100	100
One source	45	64
Earnings of household head[1]	30	45
Pensions[2]	6	16
Net farm income[2]	8	
Earnings of other family members[1]	1	4
Two sources	42	33
Earnings of household head and of other family members[1]	19	18
Net farm income and earnings, rents, or pensions[2]	12	
Earnings, rents, or pensions[2]	10	15
Three or more sources	13	3

[1]Includes income received for work performed as an employee (wages, salary, commissions, tips, piece-rate payments, and cash bonuses) and net income from nonfarm business. Does not include income from farming.
[2]Refers to income received by any family member.

Income in Relation to Socio-economic Factors

Income differentials were closely related to occupation, education, age, language used and place of birth of the Spanish-American family heads (Table 18). Spanish-American families headed by persons employed at the time of the field study had incomes which were almost double the income of families whose head was out of the labor force or looking for work. Furthermore, where the household head was a farm worker, the family income was only two-thirds the income of families headed by nonfarm workers.

The close relationship between education and income is strikingly illustrated by the information contained in Table 18 on the education and family income of the head. Income levels rose with each increase in the educational level of the household head, from a low of less than $2,000 annually for rural families whose head had less than one year of schooling to $4,200 for the family headed by a high school graduate. Similar increases in family income accompanied higher educational levels among the urban heads.

Age of the family head bore a minor relationship to family income except for families whose head was 65 and over. For these families, average income was about $1,500, considerably less than the average for all Spanish-American families.

Family income rose slightly after 25, reaching a peak at different age levels for urban and rural family heads. Among urban families, income increased with the age of the family head until it reached a peak of $3,500 when the family head was middle-aged (45 to 54 years of age). For the rural families on the other hand, family income reached its high point (about $2,800) early in the life of the head (when he was between 25 and 34 years of age) and remained close to that level until the traditional retirement age.

Families headed by persons born in Mexico had lower incomes than families whose heads were born in Texas, and similar differences in family income

TABLE 18. MEDIAN INCOME OF SPANISH-AMERICAN FAMILIES BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Selected characteristics	Median family income	
	Atascosa County	San Antonio
Occupation		
Employed	$2,664	$3,312
Farm work	2,089	[1]
Nonfarm work	3,261	3,324
Not employed	$1,405	$1,740
Years of school completed		
Less than one year	$1,983	$2,721
1-4 years	2,440	2,587
5-8 years	2,738	2,910
9-11 years	[1]	3,181
12 years or more	4,249	4,199
Age		
Under 25 years	$2,284	$2,713
25-44 years	2,750	3,018
45-64 years	2,526	3,456
65 years and over	1,578	1,453
Place of birth		
Texas	$2,552	$3,317
Mexico	1,924	2,499
Language used at work		
Always or usually Spanish	$1,832	$2,341
Equal Spanish and English	2,761	3,174
Always or usually English	3,082	3,332

[1]Median not shown where base is less than ten.

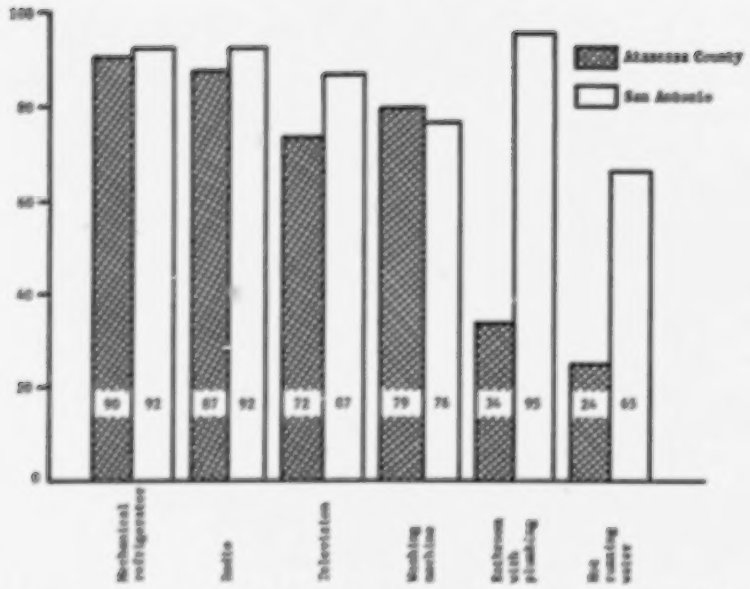

Figure 8. Percent of Spanish-American homes with specified facilities.

existed between families whose heads spoke different languages at work. Where English was the language usually spoken by the head at work, family income averaged around $1,000 more than the income of families whose head spoke Spanish most of the time while at his job.

POSSESSION OF MATERIAL GOODS

Six items common to many homes were selected to gauge the level of living of Spanish-American households. These were the radio, television, washing machine, refrigerator, bathroom with plumbing and hot running water.

Rural-urban Differences

There was little difference between rural and urban households in the extent to which they possessed some of the specified items. About the same proportion of families (9 out of 10) in both areas owned radios and refrigerators, and close to four-fifths owned washing machines. Major differences, however, existed in the availability of bathroom plumbing and hot running water. Only a third of the Spanish-American households in Atascosa County had indoor plumbing while 95 percent of the homes in San Antonio had this facility. Hot running water in the homes was enjoyed by only one in four rural families, while almost two out of three urban homes were so equipped (Figure 8).

These urban-rural differences were also reflected in the number of items possessed by Spanish-American families. Only 3 in 10 of the rural households had

TABLE 19. NUMBER OF SPECIFIED ITEMS IN SPANISH-AMERICAN HOMES BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEAD[1]

Selected characteristics	Atascosa County					San Antonio				
	Total		Number of items			Total		Number of items		
	Number	Percent	Less than 3	3 or 4	5 or 6	Number	Percent	Less than 3	3 or 4	5 or 6
Total household heads	268	100	19	52	29	276	100	6	23	71
Occupation										
Employed	223	100	18	52	30	191	100	5	21	74
Farm work	121	100	31	51	18	4	[2]			
Nonfarm work	102	100	2	54	44	187	100	4	21	75
Not employed	45	100	27	49	24	85	100	11	27	62
Years of school completed										
Less than one year	84	100	25	58	17	27	100	4	48	48
1-4 years	84	100	17	48	35	80	100	12	19	69
5-8 years	78	100	17	50	33	103	100	4	21	75
9-11 years	9	[2]				34	100	0	29	71
12 years or more	13	100	8	46	46	32	100	9	9	82
Age										
Under 25 years	14	100	50	50	0	14	100	7	43	50
25-54 years	155	100	15	50	37	170	100	5	22	73
55 years and over	109	100	23	54	23	92	100	9	21	70
Place of birth										
Texas	207	100	18	52	30	183	100	4	24	72
Mexico[3]	60	100	23	52	25	86	100	13	21	66
Language used at home										
Always or usually Spanish	196	100	23	57	20	168	100	7	23	70
Equal Spanish and English	56	100	11	43	46	84	100	6	24	70
Always or usually English	16	100	0	25	75	24	100	4	17	79
Total family income										
Under $2,000	104	100	31	56	13	73	100	17	34	49
$2,000-3,999	106	100	16	53	31	130	100	4	26	70
$4,000 and over	58	100	4	43	53	73	100	1	6	93

[1]Specified items are refrigerator, washing machine, radio, television, bathroom with plumbing, and hot water.
[2]Percents not shown where base is less than ten.
[3]One household head in Atascosa County and seven in San Antonio were born elsewhere in the United States.

5 or 6 of the items in their homes compared to 7 in 10 of the urban households.

Possession of Material Goods in Relation to Selected Socio-economic Factors

Level of living of the Spanish-American families was interrelated with certain characteristics of the household head (Table 19). Level of education, in particular, had a consistent relationship with number of material goods possessed in both study areas. For example, only half the homes in San Antonio whose head had less than a year of education had 5 or 6 of the items specified while 80 percent of the households whose head finished high school reported this many items.

Household heads employed at nonfarm work possessed more of the material goods specified than farm workers. Similarly, heads aged 25 and over had an advantage over the younger heads in accumulating material goods.

One of the factors most closely associated with level of living was family income. In San Antonio, almost all of the families with incomes of $4,000 and over possessed 5 or 6 of the items studied, while only half the families with incomes under $2,000 had as many of these items.

HOME OWNERSHIP STATUS

A large majority of the Atascosa County Spanish-American families (four-fifths) owned the houses in which they lived. The remainder either rented their homes or were provided homes rent free.

Home ownership is relatively less common in San Antonio than it is in Atascosa County. Half the Spanish-American families in San Antonio rented their living quarters and half owned them. San Antonio families had more rooms in their homes. They averaged 1.4 rooms per person. Rural Spanish-Americans averaged .9 rooms per person.

VIEWS OF SPANISH-AMERICANS CONCERNING THEIR PROGRESS

Heads of Spanish-American families were encouraged to discuss freely their views about the degree of progress which the Spanish-American people were either making or failing to make.

On the subject of change in the overall position of the Spanish-American population during the ten-year period preceding the field study, approximately three-fourths of the household heads felt that their people had made some progress along with the rest of the nation's population (Table 20). Approximately one-fifth felt that there had been no change in the position of Spanish-Americans, and less than a tenth believed that the Spanish-American people had become worse off in relation to the rest of the population during the last decade.

TABLE 20. OPINIONS OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS CONCERNING GENERAL PROGRESS OF SPANISH-AMERICAN PEOPLE

Opinions	Last 10 years		Next 10 years	
	Atascosa County	San Antonio	Atascosa County	San Antonio
Total number	268	276	268	276
Percent	100	100	100	100
Improvement	71	77	75	77
A great deal	27	51		
A little	44	26		
No change	21	17	3	1
Position worse	8	5	[1]	1
Don't know	[1]	1	22	21

[1]Less than 0.5 percent.

Although the rural household heads believed as frequently as the urban heads that there was some improvement in living conditions for the Spanish-American people, they differed about the degree of change. One-half of the household heads in San Antonio felt that a great deal of progress had been achieved compared with only one-fourth in the rural county.

A relationship was observed between occupation of household heads and their views as to the amount of progress achieved by their ethnic group as a whole. Those who were in nonfarm work tended to believe that more progress was being made than did the heads employed in farm work. Household heads who were out of the labor force or unemployed did not feel that Spanish-Americans were making as much progress as did the heads who were employed.

Evidence of improvement cited by Spanish-American household heads included the better jobs they held, their higher earnings, better living conditions and better acceptance by the "Anglo" population. Several cited examples of Spanish-Americans who had

Figure 9. Different agencies are working to improve the educational level of Spanish-Americans. Here, the House of Neighborly Service in San Antonio provides classes in English for adult Spanish-Americans.

Figure 10. Since Spanish is the major language spoken in many Spanish-American homes, special classes are held in English for pre-school youth.

been elected to high political positions "for the first time in our knowledge," or who were serving as school board members and were in other responsible civic positions. Also, they pointed to an increased acceptance of their own children more as equals by other groups as additional evidence of progress being made by the Spanish-American population.

When asked about the primary reasons for their progress, by far the most frequent reply was "through education" (Figures 9 and 10). It was clearly evident that a large majority of the Spanish-Americans viewed education as the key to their own future hopes and aspirations and those of the Spanish-American population generally.

The heads of study households were also asked what they thought the future had in store for the Spanish-American population during the next 10 years. About three-fourths or roughly the same proportion of household heads who believed that improvement in the general situation of Spanish-Americans had been achieved in the past 10 years, also believed that the next 10 years would bring about more favorable conditions for their group. They expressed the hope that their children would get more education, hold better jobs, play a greater political role and continue to make progress in their relations with the Anglo population.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study was conducted cooperatively by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Texas A&M University, and the Farm Population Branch (now the Human Resources Branch), Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Special acknowledgment is made of the cooperation and assistance of Louis J. Ducoff, former chief of the Human Resources Branch, in carrying out the project. Valuable comments on the manuscript were made by Calvin L. Beale and Gladys K. Bowles, Human Resources Branch. Appreciation is also expressed to the bilingual interviewers who gave generously of their time during the field work and in interpreting and coding responses.

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